

Message Text

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SUBJECT: TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF 20TH CPSU CONGRESS

REF: MOSCOW 2728

1. SUMMARY. THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 20TH PARTY CONGRESS WAS MENTIONED BRIEFLY IN BREZHNEV'S CC REPORT TO THE 25TH CONGRESS AND NOTED IN A FEBRUARY 14 PRAVDA EDITORIAL. IT HAS TO OUR KNOWLEDGE RECEIVED NO OTHER MEDIA COVERAGE. ONE CAN FIND MENTION OF THE 20TH CONGRESS, THE PERSONALITY CULT, AND STALIN IN RECENTLY PUBLISHED SOVIET TEXTS AND REFERENCE BOOKS, HOWEVER. END SUMMARY.

2. THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 20TH CONGRESS (FEBRUARY 14-

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25, 1956) HAS THUS FAR RECEIVED MINIMAL ATTENTION. BREZHNEV

MENTIONED THE ANNIVERSARY BRIEFLY IN HIS CC REPORT TO THE 25TH CONGRESS FEBRUARY 24. WHILE DISCUSSING INNER-PARTY LIFE AND DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM, HE SAID THAT IN THIS REGARD, "THE DECISIONS OF THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, WHICH HAS REACHED ITS TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY, HAD GREAT SIGNIFICANCE." BREZHNEV DID NOT MENTION "THE CULT OF PERSONALITY," NOR DID HE MENTION THE TERM "SUBJECTIVISM" USUALLY ASSOCIATED WITH KHRUSHCHEV.

3. THE ONLY OTHER RECENT MENTION OF THE 20TH CONGRESS WE HAVE SEEN WAS IN THE PRAVDA EDITORIAL OF FEBRUARY 14, ENTITLED "THE CONSISTENT LENINIST COURSE." THE EDITORIAL NOTED THE OPENING OF THE 20TH CONGRESS TWENTY YEARS AGO AND SAID THAT IT "DIRECTED PRINCIPLED CRITICISM AGAINST MANIFESTATIONS OF THE CULT OF PERSONALITY AND THE VIOLATIONS, STEMMING FROM THE CULT, OF NORMS OF PARTY LIFE, PRINCIPLES OF PARTY LEADERSHIP AND REVOLUTIONARY LEGALITY." THE EDITORIAL IMMEDIATELY WENT ON TO NOTE THAT THE PARTY ALSO ELIMINATED SUBJECTIVISM AND VOLUNTARISM, AND THAT THE OCTOBER 1964 CC PLENUM PLAYED A GREAT ROLE IN THIS. NEITHER STALIN NOR KHRUSHCHEV WAS NAMED.

4. THE AUTHORITATIVE ALEKSANDROV ARTICLE ON HUMAN RIGHTS (REPORTED 2728 SEPT) IN PRAVDA FEBRUARY 20 CAME CLOSE TO CITING THE 20TH CONGRESS WHEN IT NOTED THAT THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE PERSONALITY CULT HAD BEEN OVERCOME AND THE CPSU, AFTER ADOPTING "MOST DECISIVE MEASURES, ERADICATED THE VIOLATIONS OF LEGALITY WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE."

5. ONE CAN, HOWEVER, FIND PASSAGES ON THE 20TH CONGRESS AND THER PERSONALITY CULT OF STALIN IN RECENTLY PUBLISHED TEXTBOOKS AND REFERENCE WORKS. FOR EXAMPLE:

--THE ENTRY "CULT OF PERSONALITY" IN THE "DICTIONARY OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM" (2ND EDITION, EDITED BY A.M. RUMYANSTEV, SIGNED TO PRESS IN SEPTEMBER 1975) CONTAINS A LENGTHY PARAGRAPH ON STALIN, WHO RENDERED "GREAT SERVICES IN CONSTRUCTING SOCIALISM IN THE USSR AND IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT" BUT WHO DEPARTED FROM THE LENINIST PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP AND WAS JUSTLY CONDEMNED FOR THIS AT THE 20TH CONGRESS.

-- THE ENTRY "CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM" IN THIS DICTIONARY SPEAKS OF "THE COURAGEOUS AND OPEN ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PARTY REGARDING THE HEAVY CONSEQUENCES, THE SERIOUS MISTAKES AND DISTORTIONS COMMITTED BECAUSE OF THE

CULT OF PERSONALITY OF STALIN. THE PARTY'S ANNOUNCEMENT OPENED THE WAY FOR OVERCOMING THESE CONSEQUENCES IN ALL SPHERES OF PUBLIC LIFE AND INCREASED THE ROLE AND AUTHORITY OF THE CPSU."

-- THE SAME ITEM CONTINUES WITH AN INDIRECT REFERENCE TO KHRUSHCHEV'S LEADERSHIP ERRORS: "MANY SHORTCOMINGS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND THE STYLE AND METHODS OF PARTY WORK WERE ELIMINATED THANKS TO THE PRINCIPLED, CRITICAL APPROACH TOWARD MATTERS THAT WAS MANIFEST BY THE OCTOBER 1964 CC PLENUM AND BY SUBSEQUENT PLENUMS."

-- THE LATEST EDITION OF THE "DICTIONARY OF PHILOSOPHY" (EDITED BY M. M. ROZENTAL', SIGNED TO PRESS IN JULY 1975) CONTAINS AN ENTRY FOR "CULT OF PERSONALITY" WHICH CRITICIZES CULT OF PERSONALITY OF STALIN AND PRAISES THE 20TH CONGRESS IN A LONG QUOTATION FROM THE THESES OF THE CC ISSUED ON THE OCCASION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION.

-- THE LATEST EDITION OF THE BASIC PHILOSOPHY TEXT "THE FOUNDATIONS OF MARXIST-LENINIST PHILOSOPHY" (THIRD EDITION, EDITED BY F. V. KONSTANTINOV, SIGNED TO PRESS IN NOV N-4 \$1, JVO R JTAINS A LENGTHY PASSAGE ON THE CULT OF PERSONALITY OF STALIN (BUT DOES NOT SPECIFICALLY MENTION THE 20 TH CONGRESS IN THIS CONTEXT).

6. COMMENT: WE THINK THAT THE PRIMARY REASON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE 20TH CONGRESS HAS RECEIVED SUCH LITTLE NOTICE IS THAT THE ANNIVERSARY HAPPENED TO COINCIDE WITH THE PERIOD OF THE 25TH CONGRESS, WHERE THE EMPHASIS HAS BEEN ON BREZHNEV LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND "HIS" TWO CONGRESSES, THE 23RD AND 24TH. IN ANY CASE, THE ISSUES OF STALINISM, THE CULT OF PERSONALITY, AND THE 20TH CONGRESS ARE KEY INDICATORS OF SOVIET POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND ATTITUDES AND REMAIN THORNY PROBLEMS FOR THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP, ALL OF WHOM ACHIEVED EMINENCE UNDER STALIN AND KHRUSHCHEV. WE WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING IF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE 20TH CONGRESS HAS BEEN MENTIONED IN THE MEDIA OF OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE "SOCIALIST CAMP."

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